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ABSTRACT

This bibliography focuses on studies which relate discrimination in education to sex differences in the attainment of roles and rewards both in the educational system and in the larger society. The authors define discrimination in education as reduced access to the educational system, reduced mobility within the educational system, or reduced production of marketable skills by the educational system. This literature is reviewed in an extensive preface to the bibliography. The 1000 item bibliography itself contains references to published and unpublished materials which may be of use to persons interested in the problem of sex discrimination in education. (Author/MV)

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SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION:

A LITERATURE REVIEW

AND

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Educational Testing Service
Princeton, New Jersey
May 1977

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ABSTRACT

The literature in this bibliography focuses on studies which relate discrimination in education to sex differences in the attainment of roles and rewards both in the educational system and in the larger society. This literature is reviewed in an extensive preface to the bibliography.

The 1000 item bibliography itself contains references to published and unpublished materials which may be of use to persons interested in the problem of sex discrimination in education. The references are available on a computer file, and may be accessed. Information on how to access the materials is provided.

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Preface

The literature in this bibliography focuses on studies which relate discrimination in education to sex differences in the attainment of roles and rewards both in the educational system and in the larger society. We define discrimination in education as being reduced access to the educational system, reduced mobility within the educational system or reduced production of marketable skills by the educational system (Blair, 1972). Thus, differences in treatment directed towards individuals against their wishes (Allport, 1954) or overt acts of differential treatment based on group membership (Martin and Franklin, 1973) would not be included unless a relationship could be demonstrated between such differences in treatment and differences in access to, mobility within or productivity of the educational system. Within the category of marketable skills are both cognitive and affective schooling outcomes, including beliefs regarding the roles of males and females in society. It may be that differential treatment of males and females is required to accomplish the non-discriminatory outcomes of equal access, mobility and efficiency.

This bibliography is not concerned with the general literature on sex differences or the acquisition of sex roles. Several general reviews of the literature covering these topics already exist. The most significant of these are Emmerich (1973), Garai and Scheinfield (1968), Hochschild (1973), Kagen (1964, 1974), Maccoby (1966), Maccoby and Jacklin (1974), Mischel (1970), Money and Ehrhardt (1972), Mussen (1969), and Oetzel (1966).

Because traditional values have held that the schooling of women is less important than that of men, only recently has nondiscriminatory schooling for females and males been a social concern. Thus, much early research focused on how social institutions and biological predestinations prepare males and females for assuming differentiated roles in society. Current concerns, on

the other hand, are with role dedifferentiation and role androgyny. Recent reviews of sex role research have focused on sex segregation and division of labor by sex, sex biased expectations for role performance, role alternatives, simultaneity of multiple roles, sequencing of multiple roles, and the value of roles held by different role performers (Hochschild, 1973; and Young, 1973).

The questions directed to educators are simply "what aspects of formal schooling contribute to the continuation of sex differentiation of roles in society" and "what can schools do to foster the androgynization of roles?" Research to date sheds little light on answers to the first question and even less on the answers to the second.

Substantial research evidence does exist, however, to document that the educational system, in conjunction with the larger society, produces males and females with differing cognitive skills, attitudes, beliefs, behaviors and expectations. Studies abound documenting sex differences in reading and mathematics achievement, educational and occupational aspirations, and beliefs about the appropriate behaviors and personality characteristics of males and females in American society.

Schooling is held responsible for these differences through teacher-pupil and counselor-pupil interaction and through curriculum materials. The inference to be drawn from much popular literature on sex discrimination in the schools is that the schools provide children with their primary information about the major social systems -- educational, economic, political, medical, legal, military and religious -- and the roles and role values of males and females in these systems. "Role" in this usage is conceptualized as (a) the norms or demands for a given social position, that is, the expectations people

generally hold about what an incumbent of a given position should do; (b) the conception held by the social position's incumbent of the behavior appropriate for that position, that is, the incumbent's own expectations; and (c) the actions or performances of the individual in the role (Young, 1973). Information about social roles may be communicated symbolically, directly, or vicariously. Thus, teachers, counselors, and curriculum materials may prescribe different behaviors for males and females, may reward or punish different behaviors for males and females and may model different behaviors for males and females. These differences in direct and indirect treatment may account for the observed differences in schooling outcomes for males and females.

EVIDENCE OF DISCRIMINATION

1. Access to Education

Since formal education is required by law in all states, and the distribution of males and females does not vary by ethnicity or race, school age boys and girls should have equal access to elementary and secondary education. On the other hand, there is some evidence that boys are more likely to attend nursery school than are girls (Levin and Porter, 1970).

Problems of access for women to education appears to be most pronounced at the post-secondary level. Since 1900, women have been more likely than men to complete secondary school but less likely to enter college (Carnegie Commission, 1973). Some possible reasons for this have been described by Ekstrom (1972). Differential application rates and admission policies may contribute to the observed differences in quality and quantity of females and males in entering college classes. Women have been required to have a higher secondary school grade-point average than men in order to gain college

admission, resulting in a lower admission rate for females than males (Discrimination Against Women, 1970; and American Council on Education, 1972). In an experimental study of college admission, Walster, Cleary, and Clifford (1970) found that low achieving males were preferred over low achieving females but that high achieving applicants were not treated differently according to their sex. While the enforcement of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 should eliminate much of this overt discrimination, more subtle forms of access discrimination will most likely continue. Such covert discrimination includes policies restricting part-time study, lack of financial aid for part-time students, (Carnegie Commission, 1973) and restrictions on the admission of older students, difficulties in the transfer of credits, and the lack of credit for non-classroom learning.

2. Mobility within the educational system.

Problems of mobility within the educational system are similar to those of access. Indeed, when barriers to access are great at any level, such as is the case for post-secondary education, the mobility of women within the total educational system is necessarily reduced.

We note two indicators of mobility within education: 1) channeling, or the systematic exposure of females to one form of education and males to another, and 2) comparative completion rates for males and females at each educational level. Little evidence regarding educational channeling by sex in elementary school is available. Regarding secondary and post secondary education, however, there is considerable evidence of sex differences in major fields selected and retained, with females persistently choosing social sciences and liberal arts and males choosing physical sciences and mathematics.

We noted previously that the completion rates for females is higher than males in secondary school, but declines at post secondary and graduate school levels (Sells, 1975). Thus, on both counts, mobility within education is less for females than males. Again, covert policies, such as restricting the transfer of credits or disallowing credit for courses completed more than a few years previously, often differentially affect women.

3. Reduced production of marketable skills.

There is little evidence that females who receive identical training to males do not acquire skills equally from such training. On the other hand, there is evidence that identical skills possessed by males and females are differentially evaluated in the job market. For example, a study by the American Psychological Association (Fidell, 1970) has shown that identical vitae, identified as either male or female, were more likely to receive a request for job interviews when the hypothetical applicants were identified as male. More important, however, is the tendency for males and females to neither select nor receive identical training. Fields of study which are predominantly female may receive lower allocations of resources than those which are predominantly male. This may affect the general quality of the education received by females. Certainly vocational programs which prepare students for sex-stereotyped occupations produce males and females with inequitable marketable skills (Michaelson and Rice, 1974; and McCune, 1974). The general finding that persons holding traditionally feminine occupations receive lower salaries than persons holding traditionally male occupations implies that the skills of women are

less marketable. As Becker (1964) has pointed out in his study of human capital, the rate of return to white women from a college education is less than for white men but the rate of return to nonwhite women is higher than for white women. The rate of return is also considerably less for women with one to three years of college than for women who have completed college (Hoffer, 1973). A cross-cultural study by Woodhall (1973) indicates that these differences in rate of return are not unique to the United States. She discussed the effect of discrimination on both earnings and occupational status and concludes that "the returns to women's education would be increased if there were a change in traditional attitudes leading to a more equal occupational distribution and better utilization of women in the labor force." A number of theories have been advanced to account for some of these differences (see, for example, Sanborn, 1964; Gwartney and Stroup, 1971; and Cohen, 1971). These include the fact that women are more likely than men to be employed part-time and that women are less continuously in the job market. The effects of lower seniority and different occupational distribution are also considered to be significant. Rees (1973) points out that women have higher unemployment rates, probably a result of their less-continuous participation in the labor force and the need to search for new jobs when they reenter the job market. Micer (1970) suggests that, because most women plan to spend only a part of their adult lives in the labor force, they have weaker incentives to incur the opportunity costs involved in deferred occupational attainment. A more complete discussion of the effects of sex on occupational attainment can be found in such sources as Kreps (1971) or Smuts (1959).

EVIDENCE OF DIFFERENTIAL SCHOOLING PRACTICES FOR MALES AND FEMALES

1. Models.

In the previous section, we have reviewed the formal processes of sex discrimination in education. Informally, however, behaviors are modified, beliefs are taught, and roles are modeled differentially for male and female students. Both vicarious and direct learning experiences may contribute to these differences. Sources of such informal learning may be both educational curricula, textbooks and live role models within the educational system.

Content analyses of reading material for all age levels have been examined for sex bias. In preschool literature (Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada, and Ross, 1972), elementary readers (U'Ren, 1971; Women on Words and Images, 1972: Pottker, 1973; Stefflire, 1969; Blom, 1971; Blom, Waite, and Zimet, 1970; Zimet, 1969; Jacobs and Eaton, 1972 ; Frazier and Sadker, 1973; Feminists on Children's Literature, 1971; Gunderson, 1972; and Child, Potter, and Levine, 1946), secondary social studies texts (Frisof, 1969; and Trecker, 1971) and introductory sociology texts (Schneider and Hackee, 1972) on common pattern emerges. Female models are fewer in number than male models, function in sex segregated roles and display different behaviors from males; both males and females conform to sex stereotypes in literature for the school age population.

Similar content analyses, reporting similar findings, have been applied to standard achievement tests (Donlon, 1973; Tittle, McCarthy, and Steckler, 1974; and Lockheed-Katz, 1974), and vocational interest tests (Tittle, McCarthy, and Steckler, 1974). A study investigating possible linkage between sex biased test content and sex differences in test performance is in progress (Donlon, Ekstrom, and Lockheed, 1976).

Live role models in the school also reflect sex differentiation. Elementary teachers are predominately females, but principals are increasingly male. Thus, within the school there are inequitable models of power and authority as well as of function (Frazier and Sadker, 1973; Hare, 1966; Moses and Delaney, 1970; Simpson, 1974; and Wasserman, 1974). High school teaching, while balanced in number by sex, is differentiated so that sex roles emerge; female teachers predominate arts and letters while male teachers predominate mathematics and science. Power, too, is differentially allocated, so that principals and heads of departments are usually male. Universities and colleges, which have received greatest attention in research, also show sex differences in power and function. (Graham, 1970; Carnegie Commission, 1973; and Rossi and Calderwood, 1973).

Thus, at all levels of schooling, different models of male and female roles and behaviors contribute to stereotyped beliefs about male and female competencies, potentials, and personalities.

2. Rewards.

Reinforcement processes of positive and negative control, extinction and counter-conditioning also occur in schools. Schooling at all levels may reinforce behaviors of males and females which are consistent with stereotypic expectations. Both males and females, parents and teachers have been observed to hold differing expectations for individuals based upon their gender. This is true of parents of newborns (Rubin, Provenzano, and Luria, 1974), non-involved adults (Lansky, 1967; and Fagot, 1973b) and teachers or counselors (Finn, 1972; Abromowitz, Abromowitz, Jackson, and Gomes, 1973; Deaux and Taynor, 1973; Taynor and Deaux, 1973; Goldberg, 1968; Levitin and Chananie, 1972; and Mischel, 1974). How these expectations are translated into reinforcement patterns is just beginning to be investigated. Fagot and Patterson (1969)

report that teachers reinforce preschool children for sex stereotyped behavior. Brophy and Good (1970) report a variety of teacher-student interaction differences depending upon the sex of the student. Similar differences in adult-child interaction are also reported by Brooks and Lewis (1974), Fagot (1973a), Osofsky and O'Connell (1972), and Goldberg and Lewis (1969).

In higher education, women receive much less reinforcement for advancement than do males. Thus, women perceive that male faculty members are unfavorably disposed toward female graduate students and are skeptical of their professional commitment (Holmstrom and Holmstrom, 1974). Furthermore, women in traditionally masculine professions are likely to encounter sex bias in the evaluation of their professional achievement (Mischel, 1974; Rosen and Jerdee, 1973; and Dansker, 1974).

Reinforcement is contingent upon a minimal approximation of the desired behavior being exhibited by the subject. If it is the case that children arrive at a school with a repertoire of behaviors which differ according to sex, then the teachers may simply respond to the differences in exhibited behaviors. For example, Serben, O'Leary, Kent, and Tonick (1973) report that boys receive more attention from teachers than do girls. On the other hand both Katz (1972), and Brophy and Good (1970) report greater initiation and activity on the part of boys than of girls. If teachers respond to initiation regardless of sex of initiator, then boys will, as a matter of course, receive more attention.

It is likely that even in the absence of teachers' sex-stereotyped reinforcement of children, the children's own behaviors and preferences for activities jeopardize the school's plans for treating males and females equally. So long as teachers allow for individual choice and respond to

children in terms of their own interests and abilities, teachers will continue to reinforce boys and girls differentially. This differential treatment will perpetuate traditional sex-roles.

We have noted no studies in which teachers rewarded non-stereotyped behaviors in females. The extent to which males are reinforced for traditionally feminine and penalized for traditionally masculine behaviors has been explored by Sexton (1965, 1969) and commented upon by Le Trippot (1968), and the possibility of negative effects of female teachers on male pupils has been considered from a variety of points of view and under a variety of conditions, single sex classes and computer-assisted instruction such as Atkinson, 1968; Bernstein, 1972; Clapp, 1967; Ellis and Peterson, 1971; Freese and West, 1972; John, 1971; Kakkar, 1972; Lamkin, 1967; Lyles, 1966; McNeil, 1964; Meyer and Thompson, 1963; and Sears and Feldman, 1966 . The general finding is that males receive more attention, both positive and negative, than females, and that females are not encouraged to broaden their repertoire of behaviors.

3. Prescriptions for behavior.

Educational materials which contain specific prescriptions for behavior will tend to produce that behavior (Bandura, 1969). Hence, etiquette books directed at children, (Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada, and Ross, 1972), career counseling materials, vocational interest tests (Tittle, McCarthy, and Steckler, 1974) and the like may specify directly what roles are appropriate for males and females, may suggest role sequencing which differs for males and females or may fail to present alternatives to the traditional pattern of sex segregation of roles. Guidance and counseling in both secondary school and college often results in channeling of women into sex-stereotyped curricula areas. For example, women interested in business are often advised to obtain secretarial skills while

men with similar interests are counseled into programs in business administration and women interested in medicine are advised to become nurses rather than doctors. Sex stereotyping by counselors has been documented by Schlossberg and Pietrofesa (1973), who found that a majority of both male and female counselors made statements proscribing women from entering the traditionally masculine field of engineering.

EDUCATION AND ANDROGYNY -- SOME DILEMMAS

Much current research regarding sex discrimination, especially the legal issues involved (Inequality in Education, 1974), has focused on equality of treatment of males and females by the schools. Thus, legislation has struck down inequitable admissions requirements, tracking, and the allocation of resources in a sex segregated manner. These changes are expected to affect what we have identified as the third indicator of discrimination, namely unequal educational outcomes for males and females.

To view equal educational outcome simply as the product of equal educational inputs, fails to consider the active rather than inert qualities of children. Children may contribute to the structure of their own educational experience in such a way that equal educational treatment of males and females, who are themselves the products of an inequitable society, will not produce equal educational outcomes. Birg (1963), for example, reports that differential treatment of nursery school children may be necessary to obtain similar goals for boys and girls.

Within the last ten years, psychologists have begun to consider the youngest of children as active organisms, who select and organize information from their environment in a manner which is relevant to their existing cognitive structures. Children acquire new knowledge and behavior through observation

and reorganization of information, to some extent independently of external reinforcement for actually performed behaviors. Proponents of cognitive theories of sex role acquisition (Kohlberg, 1966; and Mischel, 1970) argue that children's cognitive organization of social role concepts around universal physical dimensions, combined with their gender-identity and desires to behave in sex-appropriate manners (Helper and Quinlivan, 1973), explain observed sex-differences in behavior.

Cognitive theories of sex-role acquisition have been accumulating increasing support lately. New methodologies have demonstrated that children can differentiate men from women as early as the first year of life (e.g., Morgan and Ricciuti, 1969; and Wolff, 1969). By two years of age or even earlier, children attend to same-sex peers and adults (Lewis and Brooks, 1975; Lewis, Weinraub and Ban, 1972; Brooks, Michalson, and Lewis, 1973; and Spelke, Zalazo, Kagan and Kotelchuck, 1973), and they also prefer appropriately sex-typed activities (Goldberg and Lewis, 1969; and Benjamin, 1932). Such findings of preferential looking at same-sex others parallel findings of preferential same-sex looking in older children (Maccoby, Wilson, and Burton, 1958).

The cognitive-developmental approach to sex-role learning stresses that children actively strive to acquire sex role behaviors. Differential attention to same sex-models and pride in the acquisition of appropriate sex-typed behaviors and skills suggest that children will acquire sex roles even in the absence of external pressures to do so. Accepting this model of the acquisition of sex-roles implies that role androgyny in children can only be achieved by the presence of or at least the demonstration of androgynous role models, the expansion of the definitions of behaviors that are masculine and those

that are feminine, and careful planning of curriculum and facilities so those activities which boys and girls perceive as sex appropriate do not restrict opportunities for learning skills by one sex or the other. These techniques may be necessary only during this time of transition from traditional sex-roles to role androgyny, for in a role-androgynous society it will not be possible for children to learn sex-roles in the absence of differential reinforcement.

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